Education and Research Money in House Appropriations Bill

In the Department of Education

	Fiscal 1990 Actual spending	Fiscal 1991 President's request	Fiscal 1991 Approved by House
Student assistance			
Pell Grants	$4,804,478,000	$5,277,000,000	$5,414,000,000
Supplemental grants	458,650,000	458,650,000	533,000,000
College Work-Study	601,765,000	601,765,000	600,000,000
Income-contingent loans	9,863,000	15,000,000	10,000,000
State Student Incentive Grants	59,181,000	0	60,000,000
Perkins Loans	135,129,000	0	160,000,000
Stafford Student Loans	3,856,344,000	3,157,427,000	3,900,000,000
Paul Douglas Teacher Scholarships	14,922,000	14,922,000	15,000,000
Graduate support			
Patricia Roberts Harris Graduate Fellowships	16,034,000	17,780,000	18,000,000
Jacob K. Javits Fellowships	7,896,000	5,424,000	8,000,000
Patricia Roberts Harris Public-Service Fellowships	3,277,000	1,189,000	1,189,000
Minority participation graduate fellowships	3,547,000	6,094,000	6,100,000
Graduate assistance in areas of national need	15,793,000	25,483,000	25,500,000
Institutional assistance			
Cooperative education	13,445,000	0	13,500,000
Developing institutions			
Aid for historically black colleges	95,366,000	110,366,000	99,500,000
Institutional support	82,911,000	86,631,000	87,500,000
Endowment Challenge Grants	17,893,000	17,893,000	27,500,000
Facilities			
College-housing and academic-facilities loans and construction insurance	35,129,000	13,449,000	38,449,000
Interest-subsidy grants	22,449,000	20,900,000	20,900,000
International education	39,794,000	39,974,000	46,000,000
Law School Clinical Experience	4,935,000	0	5,000,000
Veterans' Education Outreach	2,801,000	0	2,800,000
Bilingual education			
Bilingual vocational training	2,959,000	0	*
Training grants	31,913,000	31,913,000	42,000,000
Library resources			
Research libraries	$5,738,000	$5,738,000	$6,000,000
Training and demonstration	855,000	855,000	1,000,000
College library technology grants	3,732,000	3,732,000	4,000,000
Aid to disadvantaged			
College-aid migrant programs	1,720,000	1,720,000	2,000,000
Legal Training for the Disadvantaged	2,468,000	2,468,000	3,000,000
Minority institutions science improvement	5,416,000	5,633,000	6,000,000
Programs for disadvantaged students (TRIO)	241,822,000	269,739,000	342,000,000
Education research and statistics			
Education research	50,557,000	61,322,000	61,322,000
Education statistics	39,739,000	60,404,000	59,538,000
Education for the handicapped			
National Institute on Disability and Rehabilitation Research	54,318,000	54,318,000	60,378,000
Research and development	19,825,000	0	*
Personnel development	71,000,000	0	*
Rehabilitation training	31,110,000	31,110,000	32,354,000
Postsecondary programs	6,510,000	0	*
Miscellaneous			
Adult education	192,795,000	238,726,000	244,000,000
Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education	11,702,000	11,702,000	15,000,000
Office for Civil Rights	44,572,000	49,900,000	49,900,000
Teacher training	151,515,000	246,348,000	216,645,000
Vocational-education grants	850,734,000	*	*
Women's educational equity	2,098,000	1,000,000	2,000,000
School, College and University Partnerships	2,961,000	2,961,000	4,000,000

In the Department of Health and Human Services

	Fiscal 1990 Actual spending	Fiscal 1991 President's request	Fiscal 1991 Approved by House
Scientific research			
National Institutes of Health			
Cancer Institute	$1,598,501,000	$1,658,266,000	$1,749,392,000
Heart, Lung, and Blood Institute	1,027,861,000	1,068,026,000	1,135,589,000
Institute of Dental Research	129,851,000	134,627,000	149,592,000
Institute of Diabetes, Digestive, and Kidney Diseases	557,594,000	581,477,000	613,686,000
Institute of Neurological and Communicative Disorders and Stroke and Institute on Deafness and Other Communication Disorders	591,839,000	618,920,000	670,848,000
Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases	815,412,000	869,382,000	944,965,000
Institute of General Medical Sciences	629,239,000	659,844,000	693,499,000
Institute of Child Health and Human Development	426,350,000	444,911,000	488,282,000
Eye Institute	229,419,000	240,287,000	254,887,000
Institute of Environmental Health Sciences	218,647,000	225,206,000	244,832,000
Institute of Arthritis, Musculoskeletal, and Skin Diseases	162,185,000	169,338,000	191,397,000
National Institutes of Health, continued			
Institute on Aging	$229,932,000	$239,418,000	$278,311,000
Research Resources	334,612,000	316,658,000	353,469,000
Center for Nursing Research	29,293,000	30,894,000	37,289,000
International Center	15,656,000	16,355,000	18,682,000
Human Genome Research	56,558,000	102,963,000	66,131,000
Library of Medicine	72,876,000	76,725,000	80,725,000
Total N.I.H.	7,276,783,000	7,623,175,000	8,317,654,000
Health research and training			
Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration			
Mental health research and research training	389,539,000	413,491,000	430,000,000
Centers for Disease Control			
Occupational safety and health research and training	84,665,000	85,136,000	87,020,000

* The Administration and Congress have deferred budget action on all or part of these programs pending approval of legislation extending the authority for the programs.

House Approves Increases for Student Aid, NIH Research

Continued From Page A15

tors to trim the programs in a budget agreement.

The House bill would raise spending for student aid by $692-million over the 1990 amount—an increase of 11.4 per cent. But $371-million of the increase would pay for shortages in previous budgets for the Pell Grant program.

Big Increase for Trio Programs

Under the bill, the maximum Pell Grant for the 1991-92 academic year would not increase, remaining at $2,300 for the third consecutive year. Students who attend college less than half time would be eligible for Pell Grants, however, ending a one-year exclusion that was intended to cut costs.

The bill would increase spending for Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants by 13 per cent over 1990's total, and it would raise the federal contribution to the Perkins Student Loan program by 18 per cent. The State Student Incentive Grant program would grow by 1.4 per cent.

A $100-million increase in the $240-million Trio programs for disadvantaged students would be the largest rise among all higher-education programs. The House, in a report that accompanied the bill, also directed the Education Department to give priority to increasing grants to the Trio programs, which help expose minority students to college campuses and provide them with tutoring and counseling in college.

Another large increase would go to a grant program for graduate students in mathematics, science, and other disciplines that the government considers "areas of national need." The program would grow by 61 per cent, to $25.5-million.

The House also agreed with the Bush Administration that a program for minority graduate students should be increased. The 72-per-cent increase would give the program $9.7-million, just over the amount President Bush requested.

Under the bill, colleges and universities would also enjoy increased authority to borrow money. A 9-per-cent increase for College Housing and Academic Facilities Loans would authorize $38.5-million in loans—$25-million more than President Bush had requested.

$104-Billion More for NIH

The bill also increases spending for the National Institutes of Health by $1.04-billion, to a total of $8.3-billion. Mr. Conte said the increase would allow the institutes to increase the number of new research grants it awards from about 4,500 this year to about 6,000 next year.

"Scientists have pressed their case with renewed vigor, and have done an excellent job," Mr. Conte said.

The House also approved a $9.6-million increase for research on the human genome. That was a 17-per-cent increase over current spending for the effort to map the genome, but was well below the $46-million increase that the White House had requested for the project. Several members of Congress said that they supported the project but did not want spending on it to divert much-needed funds from individual scientists. The budget for the genome project has increased from $17.2-million in fiscal 1988 to $59.5-million in the current fiscal year.

Rep. David R. Obey, Democrat of Wisconsin, said of the project: "People say it's not taking money away from other medical research. I'm sorry, but it is. We want to see it succeed, but we want to see it advance in a balanced way."

In the report accompanying the bill, the House directed N.I.H. to submit a revised research and spending plan for the project.

Mr. Obey also said that the genome project raised troubling ethical questions about how increased knowledge of humans' genetic makeup might be used by doctors, adding that those questions needed to be addressed by N.I.H. before the project received a huge boost in spending like the one proposed by the Administration.

Several members of the House proposed cuts in the bill, saying that at a time of budget crisis Congress should at least freeze some programs at their fiscal 1990 spending levels.

Rep. Bill Frenzel, Republican of Minnesota, proposed a 15.2-per-cent cut in all discretionary programs, but the amendment was soundly defeated, as were the other proposed cuts. ■

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People feel more passive and less alert while they watch TV, two psychologists have found: Page A5.

Colleges are dependent on computing, but many are not dealing with some important financial and legal issues, a report says: Page A11.

A Nobel-winning physicist teaches a course for undergraduates at the U. of Chicago to improve their scientific literacy: Page A11.

Academe is losing an ally with the resignation of Supreme Court Justice William J. Brennan, Jr.: Page A16.

The supercollider could cost as much as $8.6-billion, the Energy Department has revealed: Page A16.

Virginia's Governor, relishing the role of outsider, is challenging the state's college campuses: Page A17.

A decision by the U. of the District of Columbia to accept a controversial artwork has sparked anger in some on the campus: Page A23.

Conservatives have challenged a newspaper produced by Hispanic students at the U. of Texas at Austin: Page A25.

The N.C.A.A. has barred the U. of Nevada at Las Vegas from defending its 1990 Division I men's basketball championship: Page A28.

Mexico's university rectors approved a plan that will subject their institutions to peer evaluations for the first time: Page A31.

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Contributions to Politicians: Proper Course for Colleges?

Supporters say campaign activity is prudent; opponents argue it skews federal priorities

By SCOTT JASCHIK

WASHINGTON

The joke among student-aid officials last month was that members of Congress wouldn't notice the problems at the Higher Education Assistance Foundation until campaign checks from HEAF's political-action committee began to bounce. In reality, no checks bounced. And the problems at HEAF, the nation's largest student-loan guarantee agency, would have attracted attention even if HEAF hadn't made campaign contributions.

But HEAF's PAC has been sending quite a few checks to lawmakers who may be able to influence how far the government goes to keep the ailing foundation afloat. Since 1989 the PAC has contributed to an array of lawmakers whose decisions affect higher-education issues: $1,000 to Sen. Paul Simon, $1,000 to Sen. Tom Harkin,

A financial crisis threatening the country's largest guarantor of students loans has raised concerns about the soundness of the $12-billion system. Page A16.

$2,000 to Sen. Claiborne Pell, $1,000 to Rep. William D. Ford, and $1,600 to Rep. E. Thomas Coleman.

The contributions are part of a growing trend in higher education. College presidents, faculty members, owners of proprietary schools, and lobbyists for higher-education associations and research societies are giving more money to members of Congress and becoming more sophisticated about how they do it.

'We Have to Support Those People'

In a time when Senate campaigns can cost millions of dollars, no one on Capitol Hill mistakes higher education for a cash cow like Wall Street or the defense-contracting industry. But college officials and lawmakers say the days are gone when people in higher education could ignore political fund raising and members of Congress could complain that they didn't receive a dime from the campuses.

Some college officials say their increased political

Continued on Page A18

Campaign Contributions to Members of Congress From Higher-Education Interests

SENATE

	Proprietary	Total higher-education interests
Tom Harkin Democrat of Iowa. Chairman of the appropriations subcommittee with jurisdiction over the Education Department and the National Institutes of Health. Faces tough re-election bid.	$11,825	$42,326
Nancy Landon Kassebaum Republican of Kansas. Ranking minority member on the education subcommittee. Expected to win re-election.	$1,000	$1,200
Claiborne Pell Democrat of Rhode Island. Chairman of the education subcommittee. Faces tough re-election bid.	$1,000	$5,725
Paul Simon Democrat of Illinois. Member of the education subcommittee and a leader on student-aid issues. Faces tough re-election bid.	$26,075	$52,780

HOUSE

	Proprietary	Total higher-education interests
E. Thomas Coleman Republican of Missouri. Ranking minority member on the Postsecondary Education Subcommittee. Expected to win re-election.	$7,500	$10,100
William D. Ford Democrat of Michigan. Expected to become chairman of the Education and Labor Committee next year. Expected to win re-election.	$4,400	$6,800
William F. Goodling Republican of Pennsylvania. Ranking minority member on the Education and Labor Committee. Expected to win re-election.	$0	$0
Pat Williams Democrat of Montana. Chairman of the Postsecondary Education Committee. Expected to win re-election.	$5,000	$8,400

Notes: Figures are based on reports filed with the Federal Elections Commission for 1989 and the first quarter of 1990. Contributions are included if they were from employees of colleges, universities, student-loan agencies, research organizations, and scholarly groups; owners and managers of proprietary schools; and lobbyists and political action committees representing any of the parties previously mentioned. Not included are contributions from groups—such as teachers' unions—that make donations based in part on higher-education issues but mostly on other grounds.

COMPILED BY SCOTT JASCHIK AND JENNIFER BAUSON

Growing Number of Older Students Stirs Professors to Alter Teaching Styles

By BEVERLY T. WATKINS

The influx of older students into traditional undergraduate classes is prompting some faculty members to take a new look at the way they teach.

Professors facing classrooms of students whose ages range from 18 to 65 are finding that they may need to abandon the traditional lecture and adopt more engaging pedagogical styles.

Some are learning that older students have more pressing outside commitments to juggle than do their younger classmates. Others are discovering that older and younger students don't always work well together.

Their experiences are also leading some faculty members to conclude that "the best way to teach older students is the best way to teach younger students," as one of them puts it.

With older students in the classroom, professors have to make education "an active enterprise," says Chet Meyers, a professor of humanities, who has a lot of 30- and 40-year-olds in his courses at Metropolitan State University. "Adults don't play the passive-recipient game very well."

"I couldn't lecture to my classes," says Mr. Meyers. "The younger students might sit still for a lecture, but the older students, who have been out of school, would not sit and listen to me pontificate. They would grind their teeth."

Federal Judge Bars Enforcement of Georgia Drug-Testing Law

A judge has delayed enforcement of a Georgia law requiring drug tests for new state employees, including those at public colleges. Page A17.

Some faculty members are trying short, 10- or 15-minute talks followed by discussions in which students ask and answer questions. Others are experimenting with collaborative learning, such as organizing panel presentations or dividing their students into small groups.

More Enroll Full Time

Faculty members have been teaching some older students in their regular undergraduate courses since the 1960's, when "re-entry" women in their 30's and 40's began returning to campuses to complete baccalaureate degrees. Today, however, professors are finding that more older students of both sexes are enrolling full time.

"Students of all ages are coming through the front door of the college in the daytime now," says Carol B. Aslanian, director of the College Board's Office of Adult Learn-

Continued on Page A12

MARGINALIA

We're in the next-to-last week of our summertime contest to find the all-time great examination-paper bloopers. This week's winners:

■

From Robert L. Jones,
University of Texas at Tyler

"Homer's famous works, 'Idiots' and 'Oddities' . . ."

■

From Deb Jordan,
Southwest Texas State University

"Another method of getting rid of trash is incarceration."

■

From Robert J. Frank,
Seton Hill College

In a lecture, the professor wrote on the blackboard:

$$\lim_{x \to 0^+} \frac{8}{x} = \infty \text{ (infinity)}$$

On the subsequent exam, a student wrote:

$$\lim_{x \to 0^+} \frac{5}{x} = 5$$

■

From B. D. White,
Atlantic Christian College

"When asked why our forefathers framed the Constitution, one student responded: 'To protect it from the weather.' "

■

From Robert C. Fee,
University of Cincinnati

"The inherent powers of the Presidency are the ones the Vice-President inherents when the President dies."

■

From Ben F. Wade,
Florida Southern College

Statement by a student on a final-exam paper:

"PLEDGE: I have neither given nor received any help on this examination—but Lord knows I needed to!"

■

From Tom Nelson,
Adrian College

"Q: What was John B. Watson's view of thinking?"

"A: Watson's view of thinking was of subvocalizing. That is, people could not speak while thinking."

■

From Leslie E. Eisenberg,
Lynbrook, N.Y.

"Australopithecus, Homo's ancestor who lived from 5.5 million B.P. to 1 million B.P. coexisted with man but eventually was pushed out of its knish due to Homo's technical superiority due to tools."

■

Next week, the final batch of winners.

Watch this space! —C.G.

In Brief

Student Held in Murder on U. of Alabama Campus

HUNTSVILLE, ALA.—A student at Alabama A&M University has been charged with the murder of another A&M student in a shooting on the University of Alabama's Huntsville campus.

A city police spokesman said Marlin Humphrey shot Jarvis Stevenson in the chest as the two argued over the use of a stage microphone at a fraternity dance. About 200 people attended the event in the university's student center. A&M students had been invited.

The shooting has led officials on the Huntsville campus to review their policies on campus activities. They are considering several options, ranging from closing parties early to hiring outside security officers, said Joel Lonergan, a university spokesman.

Huntsville does not allow alcoholic beverages on its campus, but empty beer cans and bottles found at the student center indicated that people had been drinking at the dance, Mr. Lonergan said.

The shooting occurred minutes after a campus police officer had made a required "walk-through" of the party, he said.

Carnegie Mellon Offers a Major in the Bagpiper's Skirl

PITTSBURGH

Carnegie Mellon University's music faculty has approved an undergraduate major that would have made Andrew Carnegie proud. It's in bagpiping.

Marilyn Taft Thomas, head of the music department, said Carnegie Mellon was the first university in the world to supplement bagpipe instruction with formal training in music theory, composition, and history.

"With this program, we are saying, Yes, bagpipes are a legitimate musical instrument, and a viable part of a conservatory," said Ms. Thomas.

James McIntosh (*right*), a world-renowned piper and a resident of Pittsburgh, will teach the two bagpipe students the university plans to enroll this fall. The university has also set up a scholarship fund for aspiring pipers.

Denis R. Colwell, assistant head of the music department, said the new major would have pleased Carnegie, a Scottish immigrant and steel magnate who enjoyed being awakened by bagpipes at Skibo, his estate in Scotland. Ms. Thomas said the university had received three requests for application materials so far—two from Scotland and one from Nova Scotia.

—JENNIFER WONG

BILL REDIC

Enrollments Increase at 2-Year Colleges

WASHINGTON—Enrollments at community colleges continue to increase, but the number of students earning associate degrees is dropping, according to a report from the American Council on Education.

From 1978 to 1988, the number of students attending two-year colleges increased by 21 per cent, to almost 4.9 million, the report says. It attributes "a significant portion" of this change to an increase in students from minority groups.

Community colleges awarded 436,462 associate degrees in 1988, a 5-per-cent drop from 1983, when the number reached an all-time high.

The report, based on information from the National Center for Education Statistics, predicts that two-year-college enrollments will continue to grow in the 1990's but at a slower rate. It projects a 3-per-cent increase from 1995 to 2000.

The eight-page report, "Community and Junior Colleges: A Recent Profile," is available for $7 from the American Council on Education, Division of Policy Analysis and Research, One Dupont Circle, Washington 20036; (202) 939-9450.

2 Charged in Theft of Hamline U. Sculpture

ST. PAUL—Two students have been charged with the felony theft of two sculptures from the Drew Fine Arts Center at Hamline University.

The city police said Thad Palmer, a Hamline student, and Nathan Anderson, a student at the University of Minnesota, had stolen a bronze sculpture of cowboy boots, worth about $15,000. The other sculpture, an aluminum rooster, was valued at $4,500. Both pieces have been recovered.

According to a university spokesman, the students told the police that taking the works was an end-of-the-year prank and that they didn't realize they were so valuable. The university plans no disciplinary action at this time.

The charge carries a maximum penalty of five years in prison, a $10,000 fine, or both, but the students will probably be sentenced

Cleveland State Embroiled in Controversy Over Black Vice-President

CLEVELAND

More than a month after Cleveland State University decided not to renew the contract of a black vice-president, the institution remains embroiled in controversy.

The decision has prompted a month of protests by minority students and a statement by black professors condemning the university's action. It also has brought Justice Department officials to the campus to try to mediate the dispute.

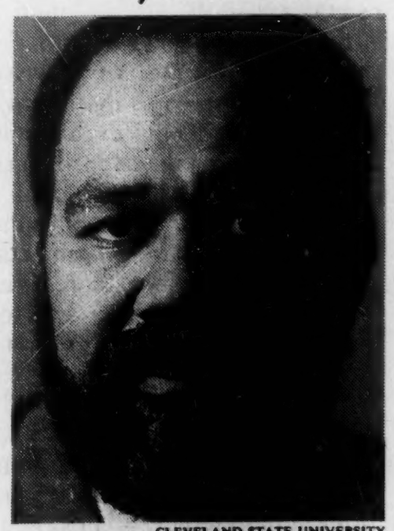
Cleveland's Mayor, Michael R. White, has called for a Congressional investigation into the incident, and a state lawmaker has threatened to try to cut off the university's financing if it does not change its stance.

The controversy began when Raymond A. Winbush, the vice-president for minority affairs and human relations, refused a new contract that offered only a 2-per-cent raise, which would have made his salary $96,900.

A spokesman for the university, Edward A. Mayer, said the average salary increase for vice-presidents this year was 7.5 per cent. Mr. Mayer said that John A. Flower, the university's president, did not make a second offer and that Mr. Winbush's contract was allowed to expire.

President Flower, who hired Mr. Winbush 10 months ago, said in a statement last month that his decision to give Mr. Winbush merely a cost-of-living increase had been consistent with the performance evaluations he had given the vice-president. In the statement, Mr. Flower dismissed as "irrelevant and false" charges that his handling of the situation was racially motivated.

Many black students on the campus of 18,000 were outraged by the action. At least a dozen staged a month-long sit-in at Mr. Flower's office building. Last week, seven people—mostly minority students from Cleveland State—were arrested while protesting at the office of a university trustee. The trustees expressed their support for President Flower's handling of the situation in a statement last month.



CLEVELAND STATE UNIVERSITY

Raymond A. Winbush: "Maybe when he hired me he was thinking I was going to be relatively quiet and passive."

Local newspapers reported that Mr. Winbush's personnel file—released by his lawyer—indicated frequent differences between him and President Flower.

Evaluations in the file reportedly gave Mr. Winbush high marks on his work with the minority community, but much lower ones on his ability to work as a "team player" with administrators.

Mr. Winbush said he had pushed for "systemic changes" in the way minority affairs were handled. "Maybe when he hired me he was thinking I was going to be relatively quiet and passive," Mr. Winbush said. "I'm not that way. But I'm not a rabble rouser. I'm not a bull in a china shop. I am an assertive black male. In the right environment that would be O.K."

Mr. Winbush said he was considering suing the university.

Mr. Flower, who did not return telephone calls last week, has said he is willing to negotiate with minority students and professors about other concerns, but that his decision on Mr. Winbush is final.

—COURTNEY LEATHERMAN

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Are Contributions to Politicians a Proper Practice for Colleges?

Continued From Page A1

activity is necessary. Joseph H. Hagan, president of Assumption College, says that although he is a Republican, he gave $500 to the re-election campaign of Senator Pell, a Democrat. "We have to support those people who are working actively on behalf of higher education," he says.

Others say higher education should stay out of campaign politics. Robert M. Rosenzweig, president of the Association of American Universities, says he feels increasing pressure to give but does not do so. "Members of Congress don't see me because they think of me as a source of funds," he says. "They understand that I represent people who are important to them and their country."

Critics of the contributions say that increased political activity may be skewing federal priorities. In particular, they say that owners of proprietary schools, who are generous donors, have prevented tough regulation of the schools. The critics also say that giving by supporters of specialized research can lead to a parochial distribution of federal science funds.

Records of 8 Lawmakers

Some critics say giving to campaigns is troublesome even when donors want to promote only policies that the public generally supports, such as increased spending on student aid. Says Ellen S. Miller, director of the Center for Responsive Politics: "The issue isn't whether what a special-interest donor wants is good or bad public policy. The issue is driving lawmakers to look at an issue not on its merits, but to look at whether they are going to get campaign money."

For this story, *The Chronicle* reviewed the campaign-contribution records of eight members of Congress whose roles are important to higher education. The records, which document contributions by individuals and PAC's, covered all of 1989 and the first quarter of 1990. They are supposed to list the employers of donors, although in some cases they do not. In the cases of donations by individuals, the money came from the donors' personal funds, rather than from their college or association employers.

Under current law, individuals may give up to $1,000 and PACs up to $5,000 to a candidate in each election. Primaries count as separate elections.

A Total of $127,331

The eight are: Representative Coleman, Representative Ford, Rep. William F. Goodling, Senator Harkin, Sen. Nancy Landon Kassebaum, Senator Pell, Senator Simon, and Rep. Pat Williams. All eight lawmakers are running for re-election this year.

Together, they raised at least $127,331 from college employees, the owners of proprietary schools, research organizations, and PAC's affiliated with higher-education groups. The money comes from administrators and faculty members on campuses across the country, including Columbia University, Salve Regina College, Southern Illinois University, the University of California at Los Angeles, the University of Miami, and Yeshiva University.

A Familiar Pattern

In many respects, higher-education donors are following the patterns of groups that have been giving money to candidates for some time. Almost all of the money goes to incumbents. Senators receive much more than their House colleagues.

In addition, the donations indicate that higher-education donors use techniques that draw attention to their money. The donors are attending fund-raising events together or submitting checks from several people at the same time—a practice known as "bundling." For instance, Senator Harkin's records indicate that he received contributions on the same day from 14 officials of Arizona proprietary schools and on another day from the president, provost, and senior vice-president of Boston University.

Some donors in higher education give to the candidates for reasons that have nothing to do with campus issues. But many say they feel an obligation to help lawmakers who take positions favorable to higher education. Phyllis Franklin, executive director of the Modern Language Association, says she gave $500 to Senator Simon because he had consistently drawn attention to the need for Americans to study foreign languages.

Others give because they have been helped with problems. Gladys R. Wilson, comptroller of Saint Augustine College, said she had given $500 to Senator Simon because he had put pressure on the Education Department to release Pell Grant money to the college in 1988. The department had been investigating allegations—since dropped—that the college had misused the money, but officials released the funds after Mr. Simon held up a vote on the confirmation of Lauro F. Cavazos as Education Secretary.

"He talked to people and the money was released," says Ms. Wilson.

Many people say they are giving more money to candidates because in past elections key supporters of higher education have been defeated in re-election bids. College officials still talk about the 1980 defeat of John Brademas, who was a Democratic House member from Indiana and is now president of New York University.

Likewise, many advocates for federal spending on science say they decided to get more involved in politics after the 1988 defeat of Sen. Lowell P. Weicker, Jr., a Connecticut Republican who had been a stalwart supporter of biomedical research. "That made a lot of people wake up," says Lynn Morrison, director of public policy for the American Federation for Clinical Research. "It shouldn't have been allowed to happen."

Congressional aides say it's about time that administrators and faculty members realized that their supporters can be defeated. One aide, asked about giving by college officials, said: "Just tell me how we can get more."

Says William A. Blakey, a former aide to Senator Simon: "You have to face up to the very simple fact that campaigns cost money. If you want people who are sympathetic to your views, you have to be supportive of them."

"You can be pristine and pure if you want to, but that's Neanderthal political thinking and it's garbage. Everyone gives except those who are holier than thou."

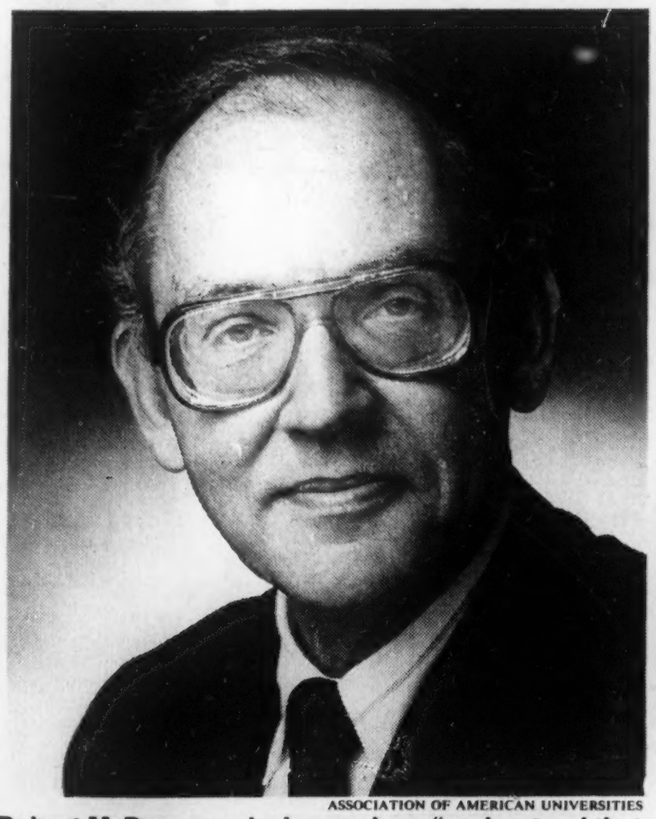
Mr. Blakey and others insist, however, that lawmakers don't change their votes because of campaign contributions. Thomas R. Wolanin, an aide to Representative Ford, says that good ideas get heard by Congress, but "in the absence of good ideas, I don't care how much you contribute."

A spokeswoman for Senator Harkin says flatly that contributions make no difference in anything Mr. Harkin does. She says the only people who have an advantage in getting to talk to the Senator are his Iowa constituents.

A spokesman for Senator Simon agrees, saying that the Senator's contributions from educators came after Mr. Simon took various positions and in no case prompted those positions.

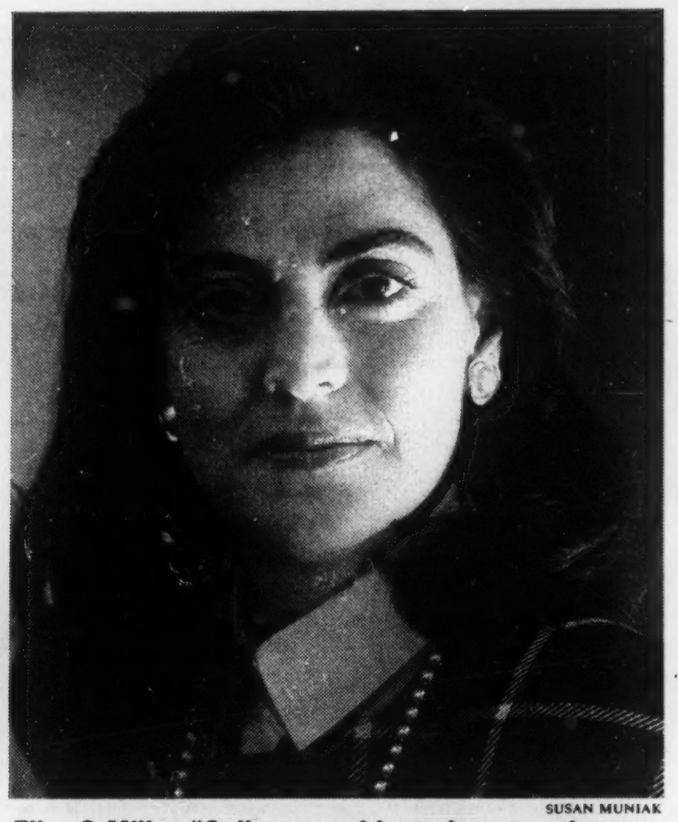
People who give money, however, do expect to have better access to lawmakers, and members of Congress acknowledge that the donors generally get it.

In his 1984 book, *The Glass House: Politics and Morality in the Nation's Capital*, Mr. Simon wrote: "Campaign contributors have greater access to policy makers, and access spells votes. . . . When Jane Green comes to me with her views on legislation, she does not need to tell me that she has given me a $1,000 campaign contribution. She knows it and she is reasonably sure I know it."



ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

Robert M. Rosenzweig: Lawmakers "understand that I represent people who are important to them."



SUSAN MUNIAK

Ellen S. Miller: "College presidents, because they are men and women of such stature, don't have to give."

Some Abuses Documented

Most of the criticism of the way contributions influence policy involves proprietary schools. In the last few years, many newspaper reports and government investigations have documented abuses at such schools, prompting proposals to increase government regulation of the schools.

While some have been enacted, others have been quickly cast aside, largely at the behest of lawmakers such as Senators Pell and Simon and Representative Ford.

College officials complain that the proprietary schools have gained too much influence, in part because of their money. They note that 8 of the 15 members—including all of the most active members—of the House Postsecondary Education Subcommittee receive PAC money from proprietary schools. School owners are also active individual donors.

Some of the contributors run schools that are generally respected. For instance, several top officials of the Education Management Corporation, which runs a chain of eight art schools, give to members of Congress. The schools have low default rates and good reputations for training students.

Robert E. Knutson, the corporation's chief executive officer, says he gives money to lawmakers who support student aid generally and proprietary schools specifically.

Other active donors to campaigns have less stellar reputations. Senator Simon received $1,000 from Monroe Sullivan, president of Trainco Business School. In 1988, according to the U.S. Education Department, 43 per cent of the school's former students who were expected to begin repaying loans defaulted on them for a total of $4.9-million. Asked about his donations, Mr. Sullivan said: "The press is completely out of control on this issue. They can all go back to their Republican precincts," and then hung up.

Mr. Simon also accepted a $1,000 contribution from Richard H. Otto, president of Catherine College, a Chicago proprietary institution whose students and faculty members have been demanding that Illinois investigate what they say are shoddy programs at the college.

Mr. Otto, who says reports about his college "have not been very fair," says he gives because "the right people do make a difference, and Paul Simon is a very compassionate man."

Jeanne Allen, education-policy analyst for the Heritage Foundation, says members of Congress "defend proprietaries because they pay for their war chests."

Ms. Allen says that when she worked in the Education Department during the Reagan Administration, proprietary-school representatives told her they would block efforts to regulate their institutions. "They made it very clear they would raise hell on the Hill and that they had connections on the Hill."

She adds: "Senators should look at their pocketbooks. They should see if their money is guiding their lawmaking."

'This Is All About Money'

Mr. Rosenzweig of the Association of American Universities says he does not believe lawmakers are selling votes. But he says the proprietary schools are "obviously trying to buy something they can't get otherwise."

The schools' owners say the criticisms are unfair. Says Mr. Otto: "This is all about money. The proprietary schools have grown in recent years and therefore their students have used more funding. That has not made the schools popular with other sectors of higher education."

Mr. Blakey, the former aide to Mr. Simon, now works for a law firm that represents proprietary schools. He notes that the Senator has been a strong supporter of other sectors of higher education—such as historically black colleges—even though he has never received financial support from them.

Mr. Blakey says the critics should stop talking about proprietary schools and instead recognize their obligation to help supporters of student aid. "Pell and Simon are in the toughest races of their lives," he says, adding that everyone in higher education

should be grateful to those who are giving to the Senators' campaigns.

"You can stand over there and be pristine and pure if you want to, but that's Neanderthal political thinking and it's garbage," Mr. Blakey says. "Everyone gives except those who are holier than thou."

A less bitter debate is going on over the role of contributions to those who set federal research policy. There the fear is that contributions tend to come from supporters of specialized research rather than those seeking to increase spending on research as a whole.

'He Was Very Important'

Contributions to Senator Harkin's campaign are a case in point. Few of the donors contacted say they were motivated by broad research issues. Instead, they were interested in a particular part of the National Institutes of Health.

For instance, Mr. Harkin received contributions from officials of the American Association for Dental Research and the American Foundation for AIDS Research. Mr. Harkin also received numerous donations from scholars who conduct research on hearing. Most say they gave because Mr. Harkin was instrumental last year in creating a new institute at the N.I.H. to study hearing disorders.

Says Dale H. Rice, chairman of otolaryngology at the University of Southern California School of Medicine: "All of us in academic otolaryngology felt he was very important in getting the new institute funded, so it's important to us that he succeed in his campaign."

Science-policy experts praise Mr. Harkin for generally avoiding special interests in preparing the Senate version of the N.I.H. budget. Where he has personal priorities, they say, they are not related to money. Mr. Harkin has worked on behalf of hearing disorders for years because his brother is deaf.

Still, the experts worry that giving by subsets of science may "balkanize" research policy.

Says Ms. Morrison of the American Federation for Clinical Research: "It's a very dangerous thing to have research decisions made on which disease is the more politically well-heeled segment of the community."

Dr. Rice says it would be better if scientists gave money to candidates to encourage more research spending as a whole, but he says that won't happen until scientists can agree on priorities. "And trying to get a group to agree on something like that is like trying to herd cats," he says.

Many of those who give say they wish they didn't have to, but feel they have no choice. A common refrain among people interviewed for this story—many of whom did not want to be identified—was that, with the federal budget so tight, they could not afford to risk offending or losing lawmakers who have been their advocates.

Ms. Miller, of the Center for Responsive Politics, rejects that argument. She says: "People like college presidents, because they are men and women of such stature, don't have to give. They could continue to have access because of their stature and lend credibility to the effort to change the system." ■

Financial Crisis Threatens Nation's Largest Guarantor of Student Loans

Continued From Page A17

that the department was involved in discussions with other "entities" about possible solutions that would either stabilize HEAF's financial footing or transfer its obligations to other parties. Mr. Sanders said the government would not relax regulations or provide federal funds as a means of making HEAF more attractive to potential buyers.

Officials at HEAF declined to comment on any negotiations. "We earnestly believe it is best that we not speculate on how these problems might be resolved or who might be involved," the company said in a written statement.

If the parties failed to reach a deal and HEAF collapsed, Education Department officials said, the government would not be legally obliged to meet HEAF's obligations to bankers. If it did not, many bankers could be expected to question the dependability of the entire guarantee system and drop out of the student-loan business—possibly restricting the availability of student loans for needy students.

"We're convinced that the availability of loans this fall, especially for four-year schools, will not be adversely affected."

Acknowledging that such a scenario could cause the loan programs to crumble, Education Secretary Lauro F. Cavazos gave his word last week that the Education Department would go beyond its legal obligations and back all loans guaranteed by HEAF even if the company folded.

"While HEAF's problems are serious to that organization, they do not threaten the integrity of the nationwide guaranteed-student-loan programs or the loans now guaranteed by HEAF," Mr. Cavazos said at a news conference.

John E. Dean, special counsel to the Consumers Bankers Association, said the Secretary had provided the reassurance that bankers needed. "You're not going to see a mass lender exodus from the programs," Mr. Dean said.

"We're convinced that the availability of loans this fall, especially for four-year schools, will not be adversely affected," Mr. Dean added. "They're absolutely positively going to get loans this fall."

Mr. Dean said many bankers had already been investigating the financial health of guarantee agencies and directing their business to the strongest ones. That practice will become more popular in light of the problems at HEAF, he predicted.

Concern Over Confidence

The outcome of the HEAF situation could be important as a precedent for how the government will handle the other guarantee agencies that it said are in trouble, student-aid analysts said.

Aid administrators were most worried last week about maintaining public confidence in—and political support for—the loan programs. The administrators said they were glad to hear that bankers were accepting the Secretary's assurances, but they said they were concerned that parents might become alarmed by reports of a "crisis" in the student-loan industry.

Francine L. Andrea, university director of financial assistance at Drew University, said aid administrators were "intrigued" by the HEAF situation but were not worried about any disruption in processing student loans. "I think most people are more concerned about how parents may react because they may overreact," she added.

On Capitol Hill, supporters of higher education were monitoring the discussion of HEAF's problems and considering what steps might be needed to increase public confidence in the loan programs.

Thomas R. Wolanin, an aide to Rep. William D. Ford, said he expected Congress to propose legislation only if HEAF's problems caused bankers to leave the program. Mr. Ford, a Michigan Democrat, is one of the primary architects of the federal loan programs.

If lenders dropped out of the programs, Mr. Wolanin said, Congress would have several options for shoring up the guarantee agencies. It could permit an increase in the fees that agencies are allowed to charge borrowers, or it could raise the amount of money that the agencies may keep in reserve, he said.

Reserve funds have been a controversial topic among guarantee agencies since Congress decided in the course of deficit-reduction negotiations in 1987 that the agencies were holding excess funds, which Congress wanted to use to cut the federal deficit. The resulting law required agencies to repay up to $250-million to the government.

Guarantee-agency officials argued in several lawsuits that the reserve funds belonged to the agencies and that losing them would create financial hardships. But the law has been upheld by the courts.

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Under Secretary of Education Ted Sanders: Five or six other guarantee agencies are having financial difficulties.

Last week, at least one influential member of Congress questioned why the Education Department had not acted to head off the problems at HEAF before the company reached the brink of bankruptcy.

'More Than Assurances'

Sen. Claiborne Pell, Democrat of Rhode Island and chairman of the Senate education subcommittee, blamed the Reagan Administration for inadequate oversight of schools, banks, and guarantee agencies. And he called for a quick resolution to HEAF's problems.

"What we need now is more than assurances," Senator Pell said. "We need a concrete proposal from the department and we need it soon to quell concerns about the viability and health of the Stafford Student Loan program."

An Education Department spokeswoman said the department would not respond to the Senator's statements.

Senator Pell's subcommittee scheduled a hearing for this week to investigate the problems at HEAF. The Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs was to hold a hearing last Friday to examine the structure of the student-loan programs.

College lobbyists, meanwhile, were concerned that HEAF's problems would give student-loan programs a black eye on Capitol Hill. The programs could be a particularly vulnerable target for lawmakers who are sensitive to criticism that they were slow to react to the multi-billion-dollar savings-and-loan problem, lobbyists said.

Becky H. Timmons, director of Congressional liaison at the American Council on Education, said she worried that the furor could hurt the loan programs in budget talks under way between the Administration and Congressional leaders. "If they react to this on the basis of emotion rather than logic, they could do anything," she said. ■

WASHINGTON UPDATE

- **Sen. Kennedy opposes a plan to reserve grants for freshmen**
- **Arts endowment faces new effort to apply content restrictions**

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy has told student-aid administrators that he opposes a proposal to reserve federal grant money for freshmen and sophomores.

Mr. Kennedy, the Massachusetts Democrat who heads the Senate committee with jurisdiction over education, told a meeting of the National Association of Student Financial Aid Administrators that such a plan could lead to "segregation" in higher education.

Mr. Kennedy said he would oppose the proposal during next year's reauthorization of the Higher Education Act. He is worried, he said, that the prospect of large loans for their third and fourth years of classes would encourage needy students to attend community colleges or trade schools rather than four-year colleges.

The Senator's stance is at odds with that of Rep. William D. Ford, the Michigan Democrat who will be influential in reauthorizing the law in the House of Representatives.

Mr. Ford backs giving larger grants to freshmen and sophomores as a way of cutting defaults on loans, many of which occur because students leave college or trade schools in their first year.

—THOMAS J. DeLOUGHRY

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The National Endowment for the Arts now appears to be facing assaults from two legislative sides.

While leaders in the House of Representatives and the Senate continue to discuss controversial legislation reauthorizing the endowment for three to five years, other members of Congress made it clear last week that they would try to place content-based restrictions on the agency by attaching amendments to the new one-year spending bill for the endowment. The arts endowment and its sibling agency, the National Endowment for the Humanities, currently are barred from supporting work that may be considered obscene.

That restriction was placed on the endowments last summer during consideration of the fiscal 1990 spending bill for the agencies.

A leading House Republican, Ralph Regula of Ohio, said last week that if the reauthorization bill did not move ahead, he would favor attaching restrictions to the spending bill.

The full House had been tentatively scheduled to take up the reauthorization bill for the endowments last week, but that debate has now been postponed until at least September while Congressional leaders attempt to work out some agreement on how proposed amendments will be handled.

—CHRISTOPHER MYERS